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AFTER UPS AND DOWNS OF RECENT WEEKS BERLIN MORALE CAN PROBABLY BEST BE CHARACTERIZED AS A COMBINATION OF GRIM RESOLVE TO HANG ON COMBINED WITH NERVOUS TENSION CAUSED BY UNCERTAINTY AS TO WHERE NEXT BLOW WILL FALL. SHOCK CAUSED BY EVENTS OF AUG 13 AND 23 APPEARS TO HAVE GIVEN WAY TO DETERMINATION OF PATCHING UP BRUISES AND FIGHTING BACK WITH THE ADMITTEDLY RESTRICTED MEANS LOCALLY AVAILABLE. THIS INVOLVES NOT ONLY IMPOSITION VARIOUS CURBS AND CONTROLS ON COMMUNIST ACTIVITY WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF TIGHTENING INTERNAL SECURITY, BUT ALSO INCREASING ALREADY EXISTING EFFORTS TO CARRY BERLIN'S MESSAGE TO THE WORLD.

SHOCK OF AUG 13 AND 23 WAS SO GREAT BECAUSE UNEXPECTED SEALING OF SECTOR BORDERS IN BERLIN (A CAPABILITY EVERYONE MUST HAVE RECOGNIZED GDR REGIME HAS HAD FOR NUMBER OF YEARS) NOT ONLY CUT OFF FRIENDS AND FAMILIES, BUT ALSO BROUGHT SUDDEN REALIZATION THAT EAST ZONE WAS DEFINITELY BEHIND IRON CURTAIN, THIS HAD APPARENTLY NOT PENETRATED INTO WEST BERLIN CONSCIOUSNESS, PARTLY BECAUSE AS LONG AS RESIDUAL ONE-CITY FABRIC WAS PERMITTED TO CONTINUE, COMMUNIST GRIP OVER EAST GERMANY SOMEHOW APPEARED AT LEAST FINAL.

LIFE OF WEST BERLIN WAS, OF COURSE, IMMEDIATELY AFFECTED IN NUMBER OF WAYS AS BARBED WIRE AND BRICK WALLS KEPT EAST BERLIN SHOPPERS AND

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-2- 400, SEPTEMBER 1, 11 PM FROM BERLIN

SHOPPERS AND MOVIE-GOERS FROM DOWNTOWN AREAS AND SCHOOLS OPENED WITH OUT STUDENTS FROM THE EAST IN ATTENDANCE. PROBLEM MOST DIFFICULT FOR BERLINERS TO ADJUST TO OVER LONG HAIR, HOWEVER, IS THAT WEST BERLIN LOST THE FOUR FUNCTIONS WHICH MAKE UP ITS "MISSION" IN EAST-WEST STRUGGLE. (1) IT IS NO LONGER AN ESCAPE HATCH; (2) NO LONGER A SHOW WINDOW TO THE EAST BECAUSE NOBODY FROM THE EAST CAN COME AND SEE IT; (3) IT IS GREATLY RESTRICTED AS MEETING PLACE FOR GERMANS FROM EAST AND WEST; (4) ITS HOPES TO BE CAPITAL OF REUNITED GERMANY HAVE RECEDED INTO TOTALLY UNFORESEEABLE FUTURE.

BERLIN LEADERS ARE TRYING TO DEFINE WHAT IF ANYTHING IS TO REPLACE THESE MISSIONS. MOTTO FOUND BY BRANDT IS TO INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY AND IMPROVE ECONOMIC BASES OF BERLIN'S EXISTENCE (THOUGH NOBODY AT PRESENT IS SERIOUSLY WORRIED ABOUT ECONOMIC SITUATION OR EXPECTS DECLINE OF FULL EMPLOYMENT). CITY WILL BE MADE CENTER OF SCIENCE AND EDUCATION. INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING AND TRAINING FOR UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE TO BE GIVEN SPECIAL EMPHASIS. WEST BERLIN WOULD THEN STILL BE A SHOW WINDOW OF WESTERN SPIRIT WHILE AFFORDING A GLIMPSE OF LIFE BEHIND ULBRICHT'S "CHINESE WALL". BEYOND THAT, THERE IS OF COURSE THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN DRIVE SIMPLY TO CARRY ON AND THE WILL TO CONTINUE THE FIGHT.

WHILE THIS APPEARS STRONGEST AMONG THE VAST MAJORITY OF MATURE BERLINERS WHO REMEMBER THE DARK DAYS OF THE BLOCKADE, IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER IN THE LONG RUN BLANDISHMENTS OF A FAR LESS COMPLICATED LIFE IN WEST GERMANY MAY NOT PROVE IRRESISTIBLE FOR YOUNGER GENERATION.

VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VISIT, REINFORCEMENT OF AMERICAN GARRISON AND DISPLAY OF ALLIED MILITARY PRESENCE AT SECTOR BORDERS HAVE LARGELY DISPELLED "CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE" WHICH DEVELOPED FROM WHAT WAS CONSIDERED TO BE INSUFFICIENTLY STRONG WESTERN REACTION TO COMMUNIST MOVE AUG 13. ON MORE SOBER REFLECTION BERLIN LEADERS ADMIT THAT MILITARY INTERFERENCE WITH CLOSING OF CROSSING POINTS MIGHT HAVE CREATED A HIGHLY DANGEROUS SITUATION BUT MAJORITY OF THEM STILL EXPRESS BELIEF THAT PERE APPEARANCE OF ALLIED ARMOR

ON SHORT ORDER

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ON SHORT ORDER MIGHT HAVE ACTED AS DETERRENT ON COMMUNISTS AS A MINIMUM, HOWEVER, BERLINERS EXPECTED IMMEDIATE MEASURES AGAINST OUR TRADE MISSIONS IN NATO COUNTRIES AS WELL AS RINGING CONDEMNATIONS OF COMMUNIST ACTION FROM FREE WORLD'S TOP LEADERS. IN THIS REGARD THEY NO LESS CRITICAL OF ADENAUER THAN OF OTHER WESTERN STATESMEN, SINGLING OUT HIS FAILURE TO APPEAR IN BERLIN SOONER AND HIS APPARENTLY POLITE EXCHANGE WITH SOV AMBASSADOR AS EVIDENCE OF CHANCELLOR'S BELITTLING CRISTS IN ORDER NOT TO HAVE TO ADMIT FAILURE OF POLICY JUST BEFORE ELECTIONS. WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER, CONVICTION IS FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED (ALSO IN CDU CIRCLES) THAT ADENAUER LOST MUCH PRESTIGE AND THAT AS CONSEQUENCE CDU MAY NOW LOSE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY.

FIRST REACTION TO APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL CLAY AS PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN BERLIN HAS BEEN WIDESPREAD ENTHUSIASM TEMPERED BY QUESTIONS AS TO WHAT CLAY'S APPOINTMENT MEANS ASIDE FROM BEING AN EXCELLENT PSYCHOLOGICAL MOVE. IMMEDIATE EMPHASIS WAS PLACED ON DEFINITION OF CLAY'S POWERS: COULD HE MAKE ON-SPOT DECISIONS WEST WAS HITHERTO UNABLE TO MAKE AND, IF SO, HOW WOULD HIS APPOINTMENT AFFECT TRIPARTITE DECISION-MAKING? ONE NEWSPAPERMAN COMMENTED THAT APPOINTMENT OF A PERSON OF AMBASSADORIAL RANK WITH SEAT IN BERLIN MIGHT BE CONSIDERED TO HAVE CERTAIN IMPLICATIONS REGARDING MAINTENANCE OF BONN-BERLIN TIES. ANOTHER EXPRESSED OPINION THAT APPOINTMENT OF MAN KNOWN PRIMARILY AS MILITARY COMMANDER MIGHT REFLECT AMERICAN BELIEF THAT BERLIN PROBLEM MAY BE APPROACHING MILITARY PHASE; HE ADDED AFTERTHOUGHT THAT CLAY WAS PROBABLY THE ONLY MAN WHO COULD ADEQUATELY EXPLAIN POSSIBLE WESTERN CONCESSIONS TO BERLIN POPULATION WHICH OTHERWISE MIGHT LEAD TO NEW CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE.

SOV ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESUMPTION OF NUCLEAR TESTING HAS DISPELLED ANY HOPES THAT AN EAST-WEST SETTLEMENT COULD BE NEGOTIATED IN NEAR FUTURE. ONLY COMFORT DERIVED BY BERLINERS IS THAT WITH THIS MOVE SOVS HAVE FURNISHED ADDED PROOF THAT BERLIN CRISIS IS NOT LOCAL BUT PART OF INCREASINGLY TOUGH CONFRONTATION BETWEEN

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EAST AND WEST. ALTHOUGH CITY'S LEADERS HAVE FAITH THAT WEST HAS EVERY INTENTION OF REDEEMING ITS PROMISES RE SAFEGUARDING THESE "VITAL AREAS", THEY FEAR THAT LONG-RANGE VIABILITY OF CITY MAY BE AFFECTED BY EROSION OF VITAL WEST BERLIN-FEDREP TIES. BEYOND THAT THERE IS SOME APPREHENSION THAT WHEN FACED WITH ULTIMATE DECISIONS WEST MAY BE UNABLE TO STAND UP TO SOVS, ESPECIALLY IF THE HANDFUL OF MEN WHO HAVE THE FACTS SHOULD DECIDE THAT WEST HAS TO BUY TIME BECAUSE IT IS AS YET UNREADY TO WAGE WAR AGAINST USSR.

LIGHTNER

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